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Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EUR-12 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15
L-03 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 DODE-00 NEAE-00 /059 W
----------271229Z 010937 /53
P R 271140Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY KABUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2429
INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

S E C R E T KABUL 2924

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, AF, IR
SUBJ: IRANIAN/AFGHAN RELATIONS

REF: A. TEHRAN 3625 (NOTAL)
B. TEHRAN 3640
C. KABUL 2817 (NOTAL)

1. FROM OUR VANTAGE POINT, COMMENTS BY THE SHAH AND MFA UNDERSECRETARY ASSAR (REFTELS A AND B) -- CONCERNING PRESIDENT DAOUD'S REFERENCE IN MOSCOW TO SOME LEGACY OF "COLONIALISM" -- ENHANCE THE IMPRESSION THAT IRANIANS AT ALL LEVELS ARE DISPLAYING PIGQUE GENERATED BY OTHER IRRITATIONS IN IRANIAN/AFGHAN RELATIONS (REF C). AS A RESULT OF THIS DISPLEASURE WITH PERCEIVED AFGHAN INTRANSIGENCE ON VARIOUS ISSUES, IRANIAN OFFICIALS COULD BE ATTRIBUTING A DEVIOUSNESS TO DAOUD AND HIS REMARKS WHCIH, IN OUR OPINION, IS NOT WARRANTED. MOREOVER, SHOULD THIS IRANIAN INTERPRETATION REACH THE EARS OF DAOUD, IT COULD EVEN CAUSE HIM TO DIG IN HIS HEELS AND EXACERBATE EXISTING IRANIAN/AFGHAN BILATERAL FRUSTRATIONS.

2. DAOUD'S BACKING OF THE "PUSHTUNISTAN" ISSUE, AND HIS CONDEMNATION OF THE DURAND LINE WHICH WAS ITS GENESIS, HAS BEEN A VIRTUAL OBSESSION WITH HIM THROUGHOUT HIS POLITICAL

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CAREER. IN FACT, THIS OBSESSION AND THE CRISIS IT STIMULATED WITH PAKISTAN WERE THE ROOT CAUSES OF HIS DEPARTURE FROM THE POLITICAL SCENE IN 1963. NOR, WE BELIEVE, WAS IT EVER IN DOUBT THAT THE AFGHANS ATTRIBUTED THE DURANT-PUSHTUNISTAN ISSUE TO THE "LEGACY OF IMPERIALISM." THIS HAS BEEN CLEAR SINCE 1947. THOUGH DAOUD AGAIN TOOK A HARD LINE ON HIS RETURN TO POWER IN 1973, ALL EVENTS SINCE MAY OF 1976 POINT TO HIS

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WILLINGNESS TO MODERATE HIS VIEWS ON THIS ISSUE. ONLY
THIS WILLINGNESS MADE POSSIBLE THE TWO BHUTTO-DAOUD SUMMITS.
THE COMMUNIQUES FOLLOWING THESE TWO EVENTS STATED THAT THE
TWO COUNTRIES INTENDED TO WORK TOWARD A SOLUTION OF "THEIR
POLITICIAL DIFFERENCE AND OTHER DIFFERENCES" -- A FORMULATION
WHICH, OF COURSE, EMBRASED PUSHTUNISTAN. AFGHAN OFFICIAL
CONDUCT SINCE THE PAK ELECTIONS AND THE SUBSEQUENT DIFFICULTIES
HAS BEEN SCRUPULOUSLY CORRECT AND NON-INFLAMMATORY

3. IN SUM, WE SEE NO EVIDENCE THAT DAOUD HAS DECIDED TO
TURN BACK THE CLOCK TO THE "PRE-RAPPROCHEMENT" DAYS, AND WE
BELIEVE THAT THE IRANIAN INTERPRETATION OF HIS MOSCOW REMARKS
IS INCORRECT. THEREFORE, WE BELIEVE IT MIGHT BE USEFUL TO
CONVEY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN OUR VIEW THAT DAOUD REMAINS
COMMITTED TO IMPROVED PAK/AFGHAN RELATIONS DESPITE THE
CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF THE PUSHTUNISTAN ISSUE AND THAT THE
LANGUATE USED ON PAK/AFGHAN RELATIONS IN DAOUD'S MOSCOW
SPEECH AND THE AFGHAN-SOVIET COMMUNIQUE WAS DESIGNED NOT TO
DAMAGE THE PROCESS OF RECONSILIATION. IN ADDITION, ALTHOUGH
THE AFGHANS ARE UNDERSTANDABLY WATHCING CURRENT INTERNAL
PAKISTAN EVENTS CLOSELY, WE HAVE NO RPT NO EVIDENCE THAT
THEY ARE PLANNING ANY INTERVENTION. MOREOVER, IRANIAN
COMMENTARY ON PAK/AFGHAN RELATIONS ALONG THE LINES CONTAINED
IN REFTELS A AND B DURING ANY DISCUSSIONS WITH NAIM WOULD
DEFINITELY BE DETRIMENTAL TO ANY EASING IN CURRENT IRANIAN/
AFGHAN TENSIONS WHICH SUCH A VISIT MIGHT POSSIBLY ACHIEVE.
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